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until this day, so imperatively demanded that it be recognized, furthered and protected. The general conferences of states will regulate for the latter that which has been regulated for private persons for fifty centuries; they will make international arbitration compulsory; they will see to it that treaties are faithfully observed; they will avert disputes; they will relieve the people of overwhelming burdens imposed by criminal whims.

But in order to accomplish its duty this institution must also be made the foundation of a political organization of the world. To that end, the contemplated conferences must be periodical, and, if I may here express a personal idea, they must, during the time intervening between these general assemblies, have an organ vested with certain supervising, directing and executive powers. This will prove to be the first stage of an international political organization, similar to that which now exists in the United States and in my own country, Switzerland.

The Interparliamentary Conference of St. Louis has deemed you, Mr. President, to be especially fitted to assume the initiative of a second general assembly of the states. This duty naturally devolves upon the chief magistrate of a country where a congress of states convenes yearly under the dome of the Capitol. We are, moreover, aware that in applying to you we address ourselves to an earnest defender of international justice, and we bear in mind the fact that you were the first head of a government who turned the governments toward the permanent court of arbitration of The Hague. And so, with the hope that you will comply with the wishes of the Interparliamentary Union, and that success will crown your initiative, I have the honor to lay before you the resolution.

Mr. President, I have discharged the official duty with which I was intrusted. I venture to assume another, and feel confident that my action will receive the approval of all the members of European parliaments. We thank you, Mr. President, from the depths of our hearts for having been pleased to join in the friendly invitation extended to the Interparliamentary Union by the Congress of the United States by sending us an invitation in the name of your government and in your own. We express the most sincere wishes for the success of your political acts, for your happiness and that of your family, for the happiness and prosperity of the United States, whose infinite horizon is equaled by nothing save the breadth of views and the spirit of independence of the descendants of Washington and Franklin.

Proceedings of the Interparliamentary Conference at St. Louis.

The members of the Interparliamentary Union who came to this country to attend the Conference at St. Louis left New York the 7th of September at 9 A. M. on two special Pullman trains furnished by the Pennsylvania railroad. There were about two hundred members of the Union present as the guests of the government. The whole party, including wives, sons and daughters, secretaries and press attendants, numbered about two hundred and fifty.

About a dozen members of the Arbitration Group in

the United States Congress were with the party. The State Department was represented by Hon. John Martin and the Treasury Department by Hon. F. B. Rhodes, who had the disbursing of the fifty thousand dollars appropriated by Congress for the entertainment of the members of the Union.

Fourteen foreign parliaments were represented by delegations. Hungary led with a delegation of more than forty, headed by Count Albert Apponyi, President of the Chamber of Deputies, member of the Hague Court, and one of the foremost statesmen in Europe. Portugal had but one representative, Denmark two, Austria nine, Belgium seventeen, England twenty-four, France thirty-one, Germany four, Italy twenty, Netherlands six, Norway three, Roumania four, Sweden six, Switzerland six.

The party was honored with the presence of William Randal Cremer, M. P., the distinguished founder of the Union, who, last December, received the Nobel Prize for his eminent services to the cause of international peace.

The party lunched at Philadelphia, visited Independence Hall and the Baldwin Locomotive works, and were driven along the Schuylkill River to the Country Club, where they were given a dinner. On the 8th they breakfasted at Pittsburg, visited the Edgar Thomson Steel Mills, the Carnegie Steel Company, and inspected the plant of the Homestead Steel works. On the 9th the party reached St. Louis and went to the Southern Hotel, which was their headquarters during the Conference.

The Conference opened on Monday morning, September 12, at 11 o'clock in the Festival Hall of the Exposition. While the audience was gathering the great organ sounded out various national airs. A group of three peace flags, made by Dr. Friedman of New York, was swung out above the platform. A dozen newspaper men took their places at the reporters' tables.

Dr. Albert Gobat, member of the Swiss National Council and General Secretary of the Interparliamentary Union, proposed Hon. Richard Bartholdt, member of Congress from Missouri, the founder of the Interparliamentary Group in the United States Congress, for President of the Conference. The election was unanimous and hearty, and Mr. Bartholdt, who speaks German and English with about equal facility and understands French well, presided with dignity, ease and uniform satisfaction to all the members. On taking the chair he delivered a short impressive address, from which we make a few citations:

"We meet here to-day, not as individuals riding a hobby to please our fancy, but as law-makers clothed with authority by the voice of the people, and while we have not been expressly delegated by the people to serve the specific purpose which has brought us together, we feel that no grander service could be rendered any constituency anywhere under the sun than the service which would result in lessening the possibilities of war. We are pledged to render such service by creating a public sentiment, and by using whatever influence we may possess in the several legislative bodies to which we have been elected, in favor of law and justice in international relations, as against brute force, in favor of right as against might. In other words, we ask, aye we demand that differences between nations shall be adju-

licated in the same manner as differences between individuals are adjudicated, namely, by arbitration, by the arbitrament of courts in accordance with recognized principles of law, rather than by war.

"Are we right? Surely; but war continues, they say. True, we cannot abolish it, any more than we can abolish murder by making laws against it. But is this a reason why we should not make laws against murder? Should the fact that the world is still being drawn into wars deter us from entering into agreements which, if faithfully carried out, will leave the sword firmly sheathed? Our skeptical friends know we are right, enlightened public opinion admits it, the cause of humanity is outraged by any other view. The goal of good government, of true statesmanship, after all, is the welfare and prosperity of the people, and it is because we know that peace surely promotes and war surely destroys that which statesmanship is supposed to strive for that the friends of international arbitration, it seems to me, are furthering the very objects of efficient statecraft.

"Great and wonderful strides have been made of late years in the direction of a mode of settlement of international differences more in harmony with the demands of modern civilization. The Hague Conference and the Hague Court, scoffed at at first by wiseacres and skeptics, are no longer the objects of sneers.

"Religious wars are, fortunately, horrors of the past; wars of mere conquest will no longer be waged, and calls to arms, on account of the national honor, are being too carefully scrutinized by enlightened and politically ripe nations, to be resorted to without good and substantial reason.

"We want the great powers to negotiate arbitration treaties among each other which will carry with them guarantees to the people of an era of peaceful progress and undisturbed development, and thus enable human instincts and faculties to exert their highest possibilities in the arena of art, science and industry.

"The government which takes the lead in the making of arbitration treaties will reap great benefits and receive the plaudits of mankind. The country which refuses to make such treaties will stand convicted by public sentiment."

Hon. Francis B. Loomis, first Assistant Secretary of State, representing President Roosevelt, was then introduced and delivered a very fine address of welcome, which, through the kindness of Mr. Loomis, we are permitted to give to our readers in full elsewhere in this issue.

A welcome was then extended to the members of the Conference by David R. Francis, President of the Exposition Board of Managers. Mr. Francis, in a very graceful and sympathetic speech, declared that if society were still regulated by force it would show no advance over its nomadic state. He said that war in this day is a mere contest between appliances of science, and that the ability of a nation to win battles is determined by its wealth. Therefore for the sake of justice disputes should be settled by arbitration. It was fitting, he said, that such a conference as that of the Interparliamentary Union should assemble on the grounds of the Exposition, for an Exposition is a great promoter of peace. It brings together in friendly rivalry every nation of the globe. It facilitates acquaintance and promotes mutual good feeling. It lessens the circumference of the globe, and makes it more

difficult for nations which have disputes to resort to arms, and easier to adjust them by arbitration.

At the close of Mr. Francis' remarks a vice-president was chosen for each of the countries represented. Brief addresses were then made by a representative of each of the countries. The speakers were: Dr. Hauptman, for Germany; Baron de Prazak, for Austria; Senator Houzeau de Lehaie, for Belgium; Mr. von Krabbe, Vice-President of the Danish House, for Denmark; Hon. Samuel J. Barrows, for the United States; Mr. Cochery, Deputy, for France; Philip Stanhope, M. P., for Great Britain; Count Apponyi, President of the Chamber of Deputies, for Hungary; the Marquis di San Giuliano, Deputy, for Italy; Hon. John Lund, Deputy, for Norway; Mr. Tydeman, Deputy, for the Netherlands; Mr. de Paiva, Ex-Member of the House, for Portugal; General Constantin Pilat for Roumania; Hon. Ernest Beckman, Deputy, for Sweden and Dr. Albert Gobat, member of the Swiss Federal Council, for Switzerland.

These addresses brought out many interesting items in regard to the state of opinion in the different countries and the practical progress of arbitration. Particularly encouraging were the reports from France, Norway, Sweden and the Netherlands. The importance of the treaties of obligatory arbitration signed during the year was strongly emphasized, as was also the remarkable growth of public opinion in favor of pacific methods of settling disputes and in support of the Hague Court. Count Apponyi of Hungary, John Lund of Norway, and Mr. Beckman of Sweden spoke in English and were much enjoyed.

In the evening of Monday Mr. Francis, president of the Exposition Management, gave a dinner in honor of the delegates in the dining-room of the "Tyrolean Alps." Many prominent people of St. Louis were present in addition to the two hundred and fifty members of the Interparliamentary party. It was the most elaborate banquet given in connection with the Exposition up to that time. Many excellent speeches were made, among the speakers being Hon. Richard Bartholdt, President of the Conference; Hon. Mr. Cochery, of France; Sir Howard Vincent, of England, and Hon. W. P. Hepburn, Member of Congress, from Iowa, whose eloquent address pleading for the displacement of horrible war by pacific methods of adjusting disputes called out frequent bursts of enthusiastic applause.

On Monday afternoon previously to this banquet, an elaborate reception to the delegates was given by the Lady Managers of the Exposition. About twelve hundred guests were present, including Exposition officials and members and attachés of foreign commissions.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

At the opening of the second session in the Hall of Congresses, when the business was begun, the following telegram, proposed by the Secretary, Dr. Albert Gobat, was sent to President Roosevelt:

"The twelfth Interparliamentary Peace Conference, composed of the representatives of fifteen different parliaments, at the commencement of its deliberations, sends its respectful and cordial salutations to the President of the great American republic. It considers itself fortunate to have the opportunity of holding its sessions in a country whose chief magistrate is considered by all nations a champion of international justice."

The first order of business was a resolution in regard

to the Russo-Japanese War. It was introduced in a brief speech by Count d'Alviella of Belgium. Some members of the Conference wished a stronger resolution, but after considerable discussion, which was participated in by Senator La Fontaine of Belgium, Representative Strauss of France and the Marquis San Giuliano of Italy, the resolution was voted in practically its original form. It was as follows:

"The Interparliamentary Conference, shocked by the horrors of the war that is being waged in the Far East between two civilized States, and regretting that the powers signatory of the Hague Conventions have been unable to have recourse to the clauses thereof which invite them to tender their mediation at any time after the outbreak of hostilities, entreates the powers signatory of the Hague Conventions to intervene with the belligerents, either collectively or individually, in order to facilitate the restoration of peace, and instructs the Interparliamentary Bureau to bring the present resolution to the knowledge of said powers."

The chief interest of the Conference centered in the following resolution, which was introduced, in a good speech, by Hon. Theodore E. Burton, of Cleveland, Ohio, and discussed in an earnest and interesting manner by Count Apponyi, of Hungary; Dr. Gobat, of Switzerland; Dr. G. B. Clark, of Great Britain; the Marquis San Giuliano, of Italy, and Hon. Philip Stanhope, of Great Britain:

"Whereas, enlightened public opinion and the spirit of modern civilization demand that differences between nations be settled in the same manner as controversies between individuals,—that is, through courts of justice and in conformity with well-recognized principles of law,—therefore,

"The Conference asks that the different powers of the entire world delegate representatives to an international conference, which shall meet at a time and place to be designated by them, to deliberate upon the following questions:

"(a) The subjects postponed by the Hague Conference;

"(b) The negotiation of arbitration treaties between the nations which shall be represented in this Conference;

"(c) The establishment of an international Congress which shall meet at stated periods to discuss international questions;

"And decides to request, respectfully and urgently, the President of the United States to invite all the nations to send representatives to such a conference."

The scope and force of this resolution will appear when it is recalled that the chief matter left over by the Hague Conference was the subject of an arrest and reduction of the great armaments of the world. The second item in the list of subjects proposed for a new international conference means the completing and generalizing, in a large, comprehensive scheme, of what has been going on the past year in the way of concluding treaties of arbitration stipulating reference of disputes to the Hague Court; and the third item—the most important, perhaps, of all—contemplates the invitation of the nations to join in establishing a regular international congress, such as has been discussed frequently in our columns for the last year and a half.

The resolution was adopted unanimously and enthusiastically.

The following resolution was then taken up:

"Inasmuch as the navigation and commerce of neutral states has suffered loss and serious inconveniences through the use of floating mines in recent military operations, the Conference expresses the desire that the conventions concerning the laws of war may be revised so as to prevent the dangers in question."

There was considerable difference of opinion about this resolution. Certain members felt that it was the

business of the Conference to devote its entire energies to the abolition of war, not to try to regulate it. After an extended and lively discussion, which was participated in by Mr. Thomas Snape of England, Mr. von Krabbe of Denmark, Mr. D. V. Pierie of England, Senator La Fontaine of Belgium, Mr. J. Bryn Roberts of Ireland, and Count Apponyi, who had introduced the subject, the resolution was withdrawn, the habit of the Conference being to pass only such resolutions as are nearly unanimously accepted.

In the afternoon of Tuesday the delegates were received by the British Commissioner, in the handsomely decorated British pavilion. The reception was attended by a thousand guests.

LAST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

The last day's proceedings were introduced by the presentation of the following resolution by Dr. Albert Gobat:

"The Conference expresses its deep satisfaction at the progress of peace ideas the past year, and especially because of the conclusion of treaties of arbitration between France and Great Britain, France and Italy, France and Spain, which are to be followed by arbitration conventions between other states. It sees in the agreement recently concluded between France and Great Britain for the adjustment of the colonial questions which had long been in dispute between these two powers, an event of good omen and great importance, and invites the other governments to proceed in the same way to settle, by common agreement, if possible, the chronic misunderstandings which may some day give rise to grave complications, if they are not disposed of in time by mutual agreement."

Dr. Gobat, in presenting the resolution, laid special emphasis on the Danish-Netherlands unlimited treaty of arbitration, as furnishing an admirable model for other nations to follow. An extended discussion followed, participated in by William Randal Cremer, M. P., Mr. Beckman of Sweden, and others, which revealed the remarkable extent to which the principle of arbitration and the desire for world peace have taken hold of the minds of public men. The resolution was unanimously adopted, after the Secretary had been instructed to put into it a complete list of the arbitration treaties already signed.

The last subject discussed was the better organization and the enlargement of the Interparliamentary Union, so as to make it more effective and to bring into its membership representatives from the parliaments of Japan, Mexico and the republics of South and Central America. It was decided to have the Union incorporated under the laws of Switzerland, and the parliamentary groups in different countries were urged to effect a strong organization, to give their close attention to international affairs, that in these matters they act together without regard to party affiliations, that they bring to the attention of their fellow parliamentarians the documents sent out by the Union's Bureau, and it was further decided that the Bureau be organized in a way to become more efficient in collecting and distributing information upon diplomatic subjects.

After deciding to meet at Brussels next year, choosing the fifteen members of the Executive Council for the year and passing votes of thanks to the President and Secretary, the Conference adjourned after one of the most interesting and useful meetings which the Union has ever held.